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AUTHOR Ringbom, Hakan
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ABSTRACT

A study of the effects of learning Swedish as a third language on the previously-learned English of native Finnish-speaking students examined 10,000 English-language school-leaving examinations of Finnish students for possible examples of Swedish influence in vocabulary, grammar, and word order. The examinations were those graded by a native Swedish-speaker during a 7-year period. It was hypothesized that learning Swedish, a language similar to English, would influence students' knowledge of English. Few examples of grammatical influence were found except for word order errors, many of which could be the result of interaction between Finnish and Swedish. The clearest examples of probable Swedish influence on word order were found in subject-verb inversions. Two major Swedish lexical influences were found, one in which formal similarity between existing Swedish and English words led to a negative influence on the learner, and another in which the learner's search for an individual English lexical item activated a Swedish item. The data support a hypothesis of non-native language transfer to the other non-native language being learned. Such transfer differs from native-language influence. (MSE)

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THE INFLUENCE OF SWEDISH ON THE ENGLISH OF FINNISH LEARNERS

Studies of language transfer have mostly been concerned with influence from the mother tongue. The recent conference volume on language transfer, Gass & Selinker (1983), has, for instance, no detailed treatment of transfer from a non-native language, only a few isolated remarks that this type of transfer is also possible. Although we may often notice influence from a (related) non-native language when we start learning a new foreign language, investigations of this topic are, if not totally lacking, at any rate relatively sparse compared to the large number of studies of L1-transfer and scattered in a variety of publications often not very easily accessible or, in some cases, not even published, being M.A. or M.Litt. theses.[1]

How does then non-native language influence (L_N-influence) manifest itself in learner language? There seems to be considerable variation due to the different relations between the languages concerned, but the studies made suggest that L_N-influence is seen frequently in the area of lexis, whereas it is much less significant, if it exists at all, in grammar and phonology. However, in certain learners in certain learning situations the role of L_N-influence is not entirely negligible, as a brief survey of some previous research will show.

The studies investigating L_N-transfer in the learning of another language fall into two groups: those comparing the influence of two European languages, one of them the L1 of the subjects, on a third European language, and those investigating the L_N-influence from another European language on Asian or African learners of English or French, often including comparisons with L1-transfer.

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All studies belonging to the latter group give fairly similar results in that they stress the importance of the related European language compared with the wholly different Asian or African language. Bentahila (1975) found that influence from French on Moroccan learners of English was much stronger than Arabic influence. The only certain examples of Arabic L1-influence was noticed in phonology. Corder (1983:94) refers to an unpublished M.Litt. thesis by Khaldi (1981), whose conclusion was that "where one of [the] second languages is formally more closely related to the target language, borrowing is preferred from that language rather than from the mother tongue." Singh & Carroll (1979), who investigated only phonology, pointed out that Indian informants were strongly influenced by their English, not their Indian L1s, in learning the pronunciation of French, and explained this as an example of a certain 'disidentification' with the L1 against the background of the strong position of English as the operative language for governmental, administrative and educational purposes in India. Ulijn, Wolfe & Donn (1981) studied Vietnamese immigrants to the United States, who knew French from before, and found that their French strongly influenced both comprehension and production of English lexis. Chumbow gives a comprehensive account of the African multilingual situation and states that "the tendency to perceive and tag languages as ± European, ± African... etc. in terms of culture or geography may determine the interferential role of the background language," (1981:49). He goes on to say that the "extent of structural and phonological relatedness between the target language and each background language tends to determine interference in that the more related they are the more they are associated with each other by the learner." (Ibid.).

Asian and African learners of English perceive English and French to be similar and make considerable use of their knowledge of one of these languages when learning the other. Such influence from a related L2 may be even stronger than that from their unrelated L1, which, of course, is not surprising, since this L_N provides them with a more workable reference frame for the language than their own L1.

If the three languages involved are European, the situation is slightly different. A number of studies have investigated the learning of more than two European languages and comment on the effect of one foreign lan-

guage on another (e.g. Singleton (1983) English-Irish-Spanish-French; deVriendt (1971) English-Dutch-German; Adamov (1973) French-English-Russian; Stedje (1977) Finnish-Swedish-German; Vildomec (1963) a large number of European languages). These studies differ very much from each other in scope and aim, and the best study so far is still that by Vildomec, who interviewed a number of European multilinguals and made some very perceptive remarks on language transfer (1963:165–174).

Generally the cross-linguistic influence between non-native languages in a European context has been shown to occur primarily in lexis. The effect on grammar and phonology is accorded much less space and importance. Phonological L_N-influence seems to be rare, since it is hardly mentioned in any studies, and a significant amount of grammatical L_N-influence, excluding word order errors, tends to occur only under special circumstances. The main difference between Asian and European learners of a European L3 thus appears to lie in the extent of the L_N-influence. Whereas lexical L_N-influence across related languages can be seen in all learners, the European learners show less evidence of L_N-influence and, it may be assumed, more evidence of L1-influence than the Asian or African learners.

The question how learners perceive the distance between the relevant languages thus appears to be of basic importance (see Ringbom 1985). The learner of a target language wholly unrelated to his L1 will be able to make very little use of his mother tongue. When, on the other hand, he goes on to learn another foreign language that is closely related to the one he knows already, he will perceive a number of cross-linguistic similarities that he can make use of in both comprehension and production. Exactly how the extent of this L_N-influence varies depends on a number of different variables, which so far have not been very much investigated. However, some basic cross-linguistic similarities generally must be perceived for L_N-transfer to take place. This is shown by the fact that hardly any Finnish influence, even on lexis, can be seen on the English of Finland-Swedish learners, whereas there is a fair amount of lexical influence from Swedish on the English of Finnish learners. (cf. Ringbom 1978, 1982, 1983).

Before going into the actual details of my investigation, a brief outline of how the teaching of English and Swedish in Finland is organized may be necessary. In Finnish-language schools, English and Swedish (frequently also German, less often French or Russian, instead or additionally) are studied. At the age of nine, the pupils have a choice of deciding which language they want to start studying in the third form of the comprehensive school. Theoretically, it is possible to choose any modern language, but since a group has to have a minimum number of pupils to be formed, very few have in practice had an opportunity to choose a language other than English or Swedish, with the exception of a few special schools in the Helsinki area. More than 90% of the Finnish-speaking pupils have chosen English in the past, between 5 and 10% Swedish.

Those who start reading English at the age of nine begin their Swedish studies four years later, in form seven. Their Swedish lessons thus start later and comprise a smaller total number of hours of teaching than English. A little less than half of the students go on to take the theoretical three-year *gymnasium* line when leaving comprehensive school at the age of sixteen, and they take the matriculation examination at the age of nineteen, when they have usually had ten years of English at school.

A frequently heard complaint among Finnish school children is that the three languages most frequently studied (English, Swedish and German) are so similar that they are difficult to keep apart. This is understandable against the background of the great linguistic difference between Finnish and the Germanic languages. Yet, of course, Asian and African languages are even more different from Germanic languages than Finnish, which at any rate has the same alphabet and whose speakers belong to a similar cultural tradition.

In Finland, English and German are learnt as foreign languages, i.e., there are little or no opportunities for a learner to practise these languages outside the classroom by talking to native speakers, although, of course, mass media, above all television, provide opportunities of listening to native speakers. Foreign films and TV programmes are generally not dubbed into Finnish, merely provided with Finnish and/or Swedish subtitles. For most of Finland, the situation for Swedish is in practice very much the same as for English or German, although Swedish is an official language in Finland and 6.2% speak it as their L1. This Swedish-speaking

population is, however, concentrated on the coastal areas in the south and west, and in the rest of the country there are basically not much greater chances for a young person of speaking Swedish with a native speaker than of speaking English. Even in the coastal areas, Finnish has a very dominant position, in that Swedish, where it is spoken, mostly has the status of a clear minority language in the community. In practice this means that a very large proportion, perhaps most of the Finnish-speaking majority in the Finnish-dominated bilingual coastal area have had little, if any natural contact with Swedish speakers.[2] This in spite of the fact that there is no Finnish–Swedish language conflict in Finland.

In an earlier study (Ringbom 1978) of translations into English made by Finnish and Finland-Swedish learners in the first and second year of the *gymnasium* level it was found that Finnish influenced Finnish learners' translation of individual lexical items differently from the way Swedish influence was manifested. Where Finnish influence can be seen, it is the semantic properties of the given L1-word that are taken over to the English word, frequently when the English word does not have those properties, and an error therefore results (*football company* pro *club;* Fi. *seura*= both 'club' and 'company'). Formal similarities between English and Finnish words, on the other hand, are so few and fortuitous that the influence of Finnish caused by associations to the Finnish forms of words are very rare. Exactly the reverse was true of the influence of Swedish on the Finnish learners: the considerable formal similarities between Swedish and English words led to a fairly large number of errors due to these similarities, whereas hardly any influence could be seen to result from transfer of semantic properties only. Finland-Swedish learners again showed hardly any influence from Finnish, but frequently made Swedish-based errors due both to formal similarities and to transfer of the semantic properties of the L1-word.

One of the reasons why studying translations is not an ideal way of approaching the problem of cross-linguistic influence, is that it is the researcher, not the learner who selects the words to be tested, and the number of these words must by necessity be very limited. Free production needs to be studied as well and my functioning as an examiner in the National Matriculation Examination in English has provided me with a great deal of interesting material, not least as far as Swedish influence on the English of Finnish learners is concerned.

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The material of the present investigation consists of approximately 10.000 essays, written by candidates from Finnish-language schools in the national matriculation examination in English. These essays were marked by me, a native speaker of Swedish, during the years 1978–1984, and all examples of possible Swedish lexical influence were noted. Frequent examples of Swedish influence on other areas than lexis could be seen above all in spelling, although these were not counted. Spelling errors due to Swedish influence occurred above all in cases where the Swedish and the English words were similar but not identical in form, and identical or near-identical in meaning.

Examples of grammatical influence from Swedish hardly occurred at all, with the exception of word order errors. These word order errors provide evidence of Swedish grammatical influence, although it should be remembered that Finnish word order allows for a lot of variation and may also have influenced. In fact, many of these cases may be the result of interaction between Finnish and Swedish. Another possibility is that some students may have arrived at their constructions primarily via Finnish, others primarily via Swedish. Also, there are cases where a combination of language transfer from Finnish or Swedish with overgeneralization of an English word order pattern may be a possible explanation.

The clearest examples of probable Swedish influence are S-V inversions, either after a sentence-initial adverbial or in a main clause when it follows a subsidiary clause. This corpus of errors has not been collected with the purpose of finding word order errors, but even the contexts of the lexical errors listed in the appendix contain the following six examples of word order errors most obviously due to Swedish influence, since inversion would be obligatory in equivalent Swedish sentences:[3]

For other people *is it* often imbossible
If I found guld *would I not sell* it
When man are young *could man do* almost anything
Recently *have the question... become* actuall
In the world *find it* so much poer.
In the attics of old houses *can be many old and available things.*

Many teachers of Swedish, English and German in Finland maintain that it is the word order errors due to non-native language transfer that are especially frequent in Finnish students, whereas clear examples of other grammatical L_N-influence seem to be relatively rare. Some confirmation of this can be found in two recent unpublished M.A. theses by Suomi (1984) and Ekman-Laine (1984).

That word order behaves differently from other aspects of grammar as far as L_N-influence is concerned is an interesting fact which one might try to explain in several ways. One contributing factor to the frequency of L_N-based word order errors is undoubtedly the relatively free word order in Finnish, an agglutinative language where syntactic relations are expressed by affixes, compared with the relatively strictly rule-bound system in the Germanic languages.

Also, word order rules are rather abstract in that they deal with generalized grammatical categories (subject, object, adverbial) rather than with concrete cross-linguistic correspondences. Word order rules are not very concretely anchored to explicitly made L1–L2 contrasts and this may make it easier for the learner to apply the rule on the wrong language. If the learner goes from a relatively free and flexible system of word order to a syntactically bound system in a Germanic language he may easily be influenced by rules of other bound systems that he has encountered since he cannot work directly with cross-linguistic contrasts between L1 and the target language but has to consider abstract categories which function in a very similar way in, for instance, Swedish and English.

The L_N-influence on word order most frequently runs from English (mostly learnt first) to Swedish or German (which is learnt last), whereas German word order, considerably different from both Swedish and English, does not seem to influence the English or Swedish word order very much. The main reason for the direction of the influences is no doubt that Finnish learners generally master word order rules, like other grammar rules, in English and Swedish better than in German.

There is a difference between the overwhelming predominance of influence on lexis (and word order) in the present investigation and Stedje's (1977) results, which also showed examples of grammatical influence from Swedish on the German of Finnish students studying German at Stockholm. This difference can be explained by the considerable difference in

language contact whith Swedish between these these groups. Stedje's students were living in Sweden, thus hearing Swedish spoken around them all the time and being compelled to speak Swedish themselves in order to get along. To them, Swedish was a language vivid in their minds, whereas the contact with Swedish that a typical Finnish matriculation examination candidate has is typically restricted to lessons at school. Stedje also found that the longer the students had stayed in Sweden, the greater was the grammatical influence, whereas it was insignificant or non-existent in the students who had spent only a short time in Sweden.

A total of 346 errors showing influence from Swedish have been collected and are listed in Appendix 1. The classification of these errors is, with some minor modifications, the same as that in Ringbom (1983).

There are two main types of error where Swedish influence is evident. One is the 'false friends', where formal similarity between existing Swedish and English words has led to the learner being influenced by the meaning of the Swedish word. The semantic relationship between these Swedish and English words may vary from totally different to equivalent in other contexts.

In the other main type of errors due to Swedish influence, the learners' search for an individual English lexical item has activated a Swedish item, often, but not always, formally and/or semantically similar, and the learner then uses this item in its unmodified Swedish form (complete language shift) or this item interacts with his English knowledge producing a hybrid, a blend or a relexification of the Swedish word on the model of English linguistic rules (real or imagined). Examples are: I *swallded* every time when my brother put his spoon into his mouth (Sw. *svalde*='swallowed'); We can see how the ground *glaiming* like ice, (Sw. *glimma*='shine', 'glitter').

We can thus distinguish three main error categories, which, of course, shade into each other: (1) Complete language shifts (141 instances), (2) hybrids, blends and relexifications (61) and (3) false friends (144).

1. Complete language shifts

Most of the words taken over in unmodified Swedish form are either high-frequency words like connecters and adverbs or low-frequency words of foreign origin. Examples of the first type are:

This can *nog* be true (Sw. *nog*='certainly', 'well')
You must know what happens in the world *fast* you are not interested in it. (Sw. *fast*='although')
She has had difficulty in finding good stories, *men* I believe that ... (Sw. *men*='but')
We have dressed in the same way *tills* we were thirteen years old. (Sw. *tills*='until')

The words most frequently shifted are *fast* (9 instances), *och* (='and', 7 instances) and *men* (6). Very few of the other language shifts can be found in more than one or two instances (see Appendix), and it seems likely that the existence of the English forms *fast* and *men*, though entirely different in meaning, has influenced the writers.

The fact that these words function as clause connecters connecting the main building blocks of the writer's message may be relevant here, since it might be thought that such links between major elements get less close attention than the actual form into which the writer wants to put his ideas. This would probably be even more so in spoken language. In fact, language shifts generally probably occur much more frequently in spoken than in written language, but even in the present written corpus, complete shifts of Swedish function words make up a fair proportion (16%) of the total number of lexical errors due to Swedish influence.

It may further be noted that among the very few examples of Finns making complete language shifts from Finnish, three out of four are the conjunction *ja*(='and'). Two of these occur in contexts where such a slip is quite easy to make, i.e. between Finnish proper names: I have two sons, Matti *ja* Heikki; I have two sisters, name of which are Terttu *ja* Kaisa. Finnish students thus provide another illustration of the tendency noted by Vildomec (1963:170) to shift function words to a foreign language from another foreign language rather than from the L1, even where no formal similarities between these words exist.

The other frequently recurring type of complete language shifts is made up of words of foreign origin, which are often found in several Germanic languages in only slightly varying forms:

A teacher should have *auktoritet* (Sw. *auktoritet*='authority')
In this way studing foreign languages would be *intressant* (Sw. *intressant*='interesting')

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You don't *irritera* those kind of people (Sw. *irritera*='irritate')
Only one language should be *obligatorisk* (Sw. *obligatorisk*='obligatory')
A little child will rather listen more *fantasifull* stories (Sw. *fantasifull*='imaginative')

Occasionally even forms containing Swedish bound morphemes or letters existing in the Swedish, but not in the English, alphabet are shifted:

We don't have any war looking *i globali perspektiv*
Natur*en* is beautiful
What speciell*t* have you done?
I am *även* student by profession (Sw. *även*='also')
Can't you *något*? (Sw. *något*='something', 'anything')
All those terrorist*er* in Italy, Germany and France.

2. Hybrids, blends and relexifications

Hybrids, blends and relexifications all provide concrete evidence of interaction between two foreign languages in the reader's mind. Hybrids are forms consisting of morphemes from different languages. Mostly a Swedish word has been shifted and an English bound morpheme tagged on to it:

Men smoke more, perhaps two *asks* in a day (Sw. *cigarettask*='packet of cigarettes')
I've noticed that I was much *pigger* after the walking out (Sw. *pigg*='refreshed', 'fresh', 'alert')
Äpples of your own (Sw. *äpple*='apple')
The industrial revolution has done horses *unpraktisk* (Sw. *(o)praktisk*='(un)practical')

There are a few occurrences of blends, where a Swedish ending is inserted into what is otherwise an English word:

We have the same *clothers* (Sw. *kläder*)

In relexifications, a Swedish word has been activated in the learner's mind and then 'relexified' i.e., modified phonologically to make it better conform to what is perceived as English norms. Frequently the learner has noticed certain recurring correspondences between English and Swedish words, and in analogy with Sw. *glida* — Eng. *glide*, Sw. *rida* — Eng. *ride* he forms the verb *spride* from Sw. *sprida*. Most instances are, however, not as clear examples of analogy as that:

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Tobacco industry have begun to *spride* information
He is good at mathematics but he succes in the other *amnys*, too (Sw. *ämne*='subject')
Works such as bathing the baby or *steading* (Sw. *städa*='clean')
In heating system one must not use oil. It could be *yeard* heat, sunheat or by wood. (Sw. *jord*='earth')
You can *plock* of berries in Lapland (Sw. *plocka*='pick')
The cloud will heat the earth by sending *strawls* back to earth (Sw. *stråle*='ray')

In many cases, again, the existence of an English word formally identical with or very similar to the produced form, though semantically wholly different, may have contributed to the learner's choice of words:

Sometimes I had to *sheet* some plants in the garden (Sw. *sköta*='tend', 'take care of')
Take care that you don't *tapp* the glasses (Sw. *tappa*='drop')
In the attic I found just *dam* (Sw. *damm*='dust')

3. False friends

The largest number of errors due to Swedish influence are the examples of 'false friends', where a Swedish word and an English word have formal similarities, which have caused confusion in the learner's mind. Semantically, these Swedish–English word pairs can be placed on a continuum ranging from totally different meaning *(blanket–blankett)* via similar, but not identical meaning *(actual–aktuell)* to words where the words may be translation equivalents in other contexts than the one in question *(way–väg)*. Again there has been interaction between English and Swedish in the learner's mind in that both the English and the Swedish word have been activated: the English form has been chosen, but it has been used to express the meaning that the Swedish word has. Examples representing the three different points on the continuum are the following:

(a) Semantically wholly different
The fresh nature is destroyed by the poisons of *fabrics (Sw. fabrik*='factory')
The child is *locked* to bed by telling him some stories (Sw. *locka*='tempt')
Many people die every day because they are *offers* of violence (Sw. *offer*='victim')
I *true* that most of the teachers are good (Sw. *tro*='think')
(b) Similar, but not identical in meaning
Many people are interest in all kind of *actual* things (Sw. *aktuell*='current', 'topical')

In summer I *spring* and swim as much as I can (Sw. *springa*='run')
I got the job by answering a newspaper *announcement* (Sw. *annons*='advertisement')

(c) Equivalent in other contexts
There are lot of snow on *ways* and streets (Sw. *väg*='road', in several contexts also='way')
If both man and woman works at home they can *deal* the jobs (Sw. *dela*='share', sometimes also='deal')
Only 5% of rapers are *doomed* (Sw. *döma*='to sentence', 'to judge', sometimes also='to doom')

How do these errors due to Swedish influence then compare with errors due to Finnish L1-influence? Because of the great linguistic distance between English and Finnish and the restrictive attitude to the introduction of foreign loanwords into Finnish, few examples of Finnish-induced errors of the type discussed above can be expected. In fact, in the entire corpus I have found only one example of an error caused by formal similarity between the English and the Finnish words:

Our *perils* will see what we have had and will understand us better (Fi. *perillinen*='descendant')

This, of course, does not mean that there are few or no lexical errors due to Finnish influence in the corpus, only that the Finnish-included errors are of different types, as can be seen from the following examples:

I *come* unhappy in the autumn (Fi. *tulla* most commonly='come', more seldom='become')
Weather moves quickly from *the other* kind to *the other* kind (Fi. *toinen* usually='other', *toinen-toinen*='one-another')
To my family *heard* also father and mother (Fi. *kuulua*='be heard' and 'belong')
He is the other of the two accepted *seekers* (Fi. *hakija*='applicant', from *hakea*, most commonly='to seek')
Horses are the most dignified *home animals* (Fi. *kotieläin*='domestic animal', literally 'home animal')
Basketball, football and *flyingball* are popular (Fi. *lentopallo*='volleyball', literally='flying ball')
It was *raining snow* in June (Fi. *sataa lunta*='to snow', literally='to rain snow')
These *yeartimes* are not always same kind of (Fi. *vuodenaika*='season', literally='year time')

A large number of Finnish-induced lexical errors like these can be found in matriculation examination essays each year. Swedish-induced lexical errors of this type, however, are not found in the corpus. Thus the errors due to Swedish present exactly the opposite picture to the errors due to Finnish: Swedish influence results from formal cross-linguistic similarities between words, whereas Finnish influence manifests itself in either loan translations or, most commonly, in transfer of the semantic properties of a formally different L1-word. What the Finnish learner has done in the latter case is to make use of a perceived translation equivalent; he has established a *primary counterpart* in Arabski's terminology. "The primary counterpart is the equivalent which in the process of foreign language learning is acquired to render the common meaning of a given L1 lexical item. In situations when a learner produces an L2 utterance adhering to L1 rules he tends to use primary counterparts to render the L1 construction." (Arabski 1979:34). This is a natural thing to do for learners at early or intermediate stages of learning, regardless of whether there are cross-linguistic formal resemblances between the words or not.

Prior knowledge of L1 and other languages provides one basis for the learner's forming and testing his hypotheses about the target language. Hypotheses can be based on formal cross-linguistic similarities between individual items (what I have elsewhere called *borrowing* (Ringbom 1983)) or they can reveal more complex linguistic processing, as when semantic properties or grammatical rules are transferred from one language to another.

When the learner's L1 is unrelated to the target language, this usually means that he cannot rely on formal cross-linguistic (L1–L2) similarities between individual items, although he may still make much use of other hypotheses based on his L1. He may try to compensate for this by making use of his knowledge of other languages related to the target language, above all where he can notice formal resemblances between individual lexical items.

There is one example of Swedish influence, in fact the most frequent in the whole corpus, which is difficult to classify since it fits two of the categories above: language shift and false friends. It further shows transfer of semantic properties. The indefinite Swedish pronoun *man* (cf. German *mann)* for 'one', 'you' is found fifteen times in cases like

When *man* are young could *man* do almost everything what *man* have always wanted to do.

Here the learner has transferred the semantic properties of the Swedish word to the English word. However, the formal identity with the English word has obviously been the main underlying reason, since such transfers of semantic properties do not as a rule occur from non-native languages, only from the L1. When this type of transfer occurs from the L1 there need be no formal similarities between the L1-word and the L2-word, but it takes place from a non-native language only if identity or near-identity of form exists between the L_N-word and the word in the target language.

Examples not only of Swedish but also of German influence on the English of Finnish learners have been found in my corpus, although they are much fewer in number. Two of the examples of German influence, which in nearly all cases are complete language shifts (see Appendix, p. 71), are also of a type where there exist formally identical, though semantically totally different English words:

We, *also* I and my boyfriend movied to Pieksämäki
According to your fathers latest *brief* to Finland.

This adds further support to the hypothesis that the very existence of a target language form identical with an L_N-form, even though it may belong to a different word class and have a wholly different meaning, may contribute to this L_N-word being especially amenable to a language shift.

That German influence is much less noticeable than Swedish influence on the English of Finnish students merely reflects the fact that these students generally have a better knowledge of Swedish than of German. Certainly they have had more Swedish than German lessons at school.

This study so far has been similar to other transfer studies in that all examples given have been examples of negative transfer, i.e., they show how knowledge of another non-native language has caused errors in the learner's production of the target language. We should, however, also study the positive effect of cross-linguistic influence in production as well as reception, and this is a topic much less concrete and much less amenable to investigation. We may, of course, say with Gass & Selinker (1983:6), Sajavaara & Lehtonen (forthcoming) and others that the distinc-

tion between positive and negative transfer is confusing and unimportant, since it merely refers to the researcher's comparison of the learner's product to target language norms. But the fact is that positive transfer is a research topic to which scholars generally only pay lip service: there are, to my knowledge, hardly any investigations that analyse in detail how the learner really can and does make use of his previous knowledge of other languages. Only in the study of cognates (see e.g. Hammer 1978) the facilitating effect of one language on another has been commented on, but these studies have not been placed within a wider framework of transfer, where a comparison of lexis with other linguistic areas would come in.

If positive transfer is thus dealt with only in restricted contexts and L_N-transfer studies are relatively rare, it is not surprising that detailed studies of positive effects of L_N-influence are, as far as I know, totally lacking. In the absence of existing works, any discussion of this topic must by necessity be fairly speculative, but in the light of recent discussion it seems natural to assume that the same processes that lead to examples of negative effects will also have positive effects on the learner, i.e., they will make the learner produce target language words in their correct form and meaning.

One general principle, supported by investigations of other languages, can be formulated: the better a learner knows a language, the more it will influence his learning of another language, L1-influence being the strongest. But of course this is not sufficient in itself, there are also other, probably much more important variables (cf. Faerch 1984), above all the closer the perceived distance between the languages, the greater the influence (see Ringbom 1985).

To what degree a knowledge of Swedish actually helps the Finnish learner of English will depend on large number of different variables: the learner's age, his stage of learning (both Swedish and English), mode of learning (whether both are encountered only as foreign languages at school or whether one of them is learnt in a natural learning environment), order of learning, the different skills involved (oral/written and receptive/productive), the degree of contact with the languages, the learner's individual learning characteristics (including his ability to keep the languages apart), etc. Since most Finnish learners have had Swedish as an L3 and English as an L2, we need parallell investigations of how English has affected the Swedish and German of Finnish learners.

Let us, however, phrase the question in general terms: To what extent does prior knowledge of another language than the L1 help the learner in learning a new language? Generally speaking, L3-learners have more relevant experience at their disposal than L2-learners, and in this sense it should therefore be easier to learn a third than a second language, since the L3-learner can make use of many more cues than the L2-learner. Albert & Obler, for instance, report in their survey that "bilinguals have the advantage over monolinguals in several language-related skills" (1978:204). A bilingual has a wider perspective on language than a monolingual: he has a greater awareness of language variation and the possibilities of expressing the same idea by different linguistic means. It is, however, also probable that a certain threshold level of bilingualism, a certain degree of automatization must be reached for the learner to be able to take real advantage of his other language. Further, it may also be the case that the learning situation should ideally be similar for L2 and L3, i.e., if the L2 has been acquired in a natural environment it helps the acquisition of the L3 in natural environments, but not necessarily, or at least not as much, L3-learning in a foreign-language learning environment. The distance between L2 and L3 is also an important variable to consider: obviously knowledge of a non-native language related to the target language is more relevant than knowledge of an unrelated language, as the survey of previous research earlier in this paper makes clear.

In an unpublished M.A. thesis by Till & Vesterlund (1982), it was found that bilingual Finland–Swedish learners at commercial colleges in Finland in fact achieved significantly worse results in a test of English (cloze test + translation) than their monolingual or almost monolingual counterparts. Since this goes against what has been found by nearly all other recent investigations it is a surprising result, but a plausible explanation can be found in both the difficulty of finding truly monolingual Swedish speakers in Finland and the different prestige value of the colleges in Finland. In the bilingual university towns Helsinki/Helsingfors and Turku/Åbo, which provided the group of bilingual Swedish–Finnish learners, the prestige value of the commercial colleges is low, and the student's school reports clearly showed that these colleges attract academically less qualified students than the equivalent colleges in monolingual or dominantly Swedish-speaking areas without university-level education.

Till & Vesterlund's study, however, also points to the necessity of distinguishing between foreign language learning and second language acquisition. Helsinki and Turku are predominantly Finnish-speaking and young Swedish-speakers there have to learn to cope with Finnish at an early age. Young people growing up in such a natural bilingual environment need not find it easier to learn a third language, English, in a classroom learning context than their monolingual or nearly monolingual counterparts in the predominantly Swedish-speaking areas of Finland. In a predominantly Finnish-speaking area, the Swedish-speaking learner's knowledge of Finnish apparently carries less weight than, for instance, aptitude for foreign language learning at school, in which variable an important part is played by the ability of passing a written test. This ability is not necessarily the same as actual communicative competence in a live situation.

On the other hand, Till and Vesterlund found that those students in a predominantly monolingual Swedish environment who had managed to learn Finnish to the extent that they regarded themselves as bilingual or almost bilingual did better in the English test than the monolinguals or near-monolinguals at the same college. Thus the hypothesis that it is easier for bilinguals than for monolinguals to learn a third language may work if the external linguistic environment (and thus the possibilities of becoming bilingual) has been the same, or at least similar, for bilinguals and monolinguals. If nothing else, however, Till & Vesterlund's study clearly illustrates the difficulty of isolating one variable (bilinguals vs. monolinguals) in a complex socio-linguistic context where many other variables are also at work.

Another recent study by Mägiste (1984), based on immigrants in Sweden, concludes that passive bilingualism appears to facilitate learning a third language whereas active bilingualism might delay it. This is an interesting result, and further research into the relation between the effects of transfer and receptive vs. productive skills is urgently needed. (Cf. Ringbom 1985).

The foreign language learner relies very much on formal similarities when he is learning. These formal similarities can be intra-lingual within English and they can be inter-lingual between English and either the learner's L1 or some other language he knows. Since formal similarities between English and Finnish words are very rare (excluding a small number

of low-frequency loanwords), the Finnish learner of English will rely on cross-linguistic similarities within the Germanic languages, above all from Swedish. The learner may thus try partly to compensate for the insignificant use he can make of his L1 by depending on forms he remembers from other non-native languages. The more a learner advances in his learning, the more he learns to organize his mental lexicon not according to form but by developing his intra-lingual semantic network associations (cf. Cook (1977), Albert & Obler (1978), Henning (1973), Meara (1978)). Some Finnish learner's reliance on formal similarities to Swedish even after ten years of English at school reveals a strong dependence of form characteristic of intermediate rather than advanced learners. Whether this is due largely to the formal language learning situation in Finnish schools in contrast to second language acquisition in a natural environment remains to be investigated.

If formal similarities between L1 and the target language exist, this will naturally aid the beginning learner, especially in comprehension, when he can use his automatized L1-knowledge as pegs to hang his L2-knowledge of lexis on. Where formal similarities are not to be found, the learner has to look elsewhere for support, above all to other languages he knows. If he finds formal similarities to the target language in some other language, he may try to make use of them, even though a mere school knowledge of that language will restrict this influence to the superficial process of borrowing. Evidence of L_N-influence in the form of the more complex linguistic process of transfer is very hard to find. Although there is evidence from transfer, it is transfer from the L1, even when the L1 and the target language are unrelated to each other: the naive learner's underlying assumption is that the translation equivalents he has established to his L1 will function in very much the same way as in his L1. In lexis, transfer means that (over) generalization of simplified translation equivalences will take place, in grammar that L2-words will be used in constructions similar or identical to L1-constructions.

There is, thus, a difference between L1-influence and L_N-influence in that L1-influence may manifest itself as either transfer or borrowing, whereas L_N-influence tends to manifest itself in borrowing only, i.e. in contexts where the search for a lexical item has merely activated another item, usually formally similar, in a non-native language. However, this refers

only to the Finnish learning context: if the learner's L1 is perceived to be even more different from the target language, as is the case with Asian or African learners, the L_N-influence across two very closely related non-native languages might take the form of transfer as well. The importance of the perceived language distance can hardly be overestimated, and should make us extremely careful with generalizations from one learning situation to another.[4]

NOTES

1. See Yvonne Henriksson's and my bibliography on linguistic and psycholinguistic approaches to multilingualism in this volume, pp. 191 ff.
2. Cf. here Merió (1978:36), who makes a (too?) categorical distinction between the two language groups as far as their knowledge of the country's other official language is concerned. The Swedish Finns (taking part in the matriculation examination) are characterized as being "naturally bilingual", whereas the Finns are merely "school bilingual".
3. For further examples and a discussion of word-order errors due to Swedish influence, see Ekman-Laine (1984), who analysed 298 matriculation examination essays written by Finnish students. She found that about 20% of the total number of 318 word order errors were best explained by Swedish influence, and in another 20% either Finnish or Swedish could have influenced.
4. For help with the cataloguing of data as well as other tasks I am grateful to Yvonne Henriksson, Maria Ingberg and Jari Lehtonen.

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Appendix: The Error Corpus

Apart from its obvious function of documented material necessary for the discussion above, this appendix has an additional purpose: that of showing teachers in Finnish schools where the lexical influence from Swedish is strongest on the learners' English. A word of warning is, however, necessary. The number of errors seem quite large when they are all gathered together, but considering that they are spread out over 10.000 scripts, the proportion of these errors is, in fact, small, only in the region of one error per 30–40 essays of approximately 200 words each. The importance of these errors should therefore not be overemphasized either generally or in teaching. Even if these error types had been considerably more frequent, a preoccupation with errors where they are viewed as evidence of shortcomings in the learner's performance that are always undesirable and avoidable is clearly an unprofitable, even an unfortunate attitude in foreign language teaching, where it is more important to concentrate on the learner's success and achievement in learning, not his failures. In Finland especially, we need to fight that general reticence and lack of dynamism in concrete communication situations, for which teachers formerly were at least to some extent to blame. Exaggerated focussing on the learner's errors certainly was one contributing factor to the Finns' general unwillingness to say something in another language. It seems, however, that recent changes in the educational system have, at any rate, reduced the number of Finns who refuse to say anything at all in foreign language unless they are sure of their ability to avoid appearing foolish by making errors.

Most of the Finnish students who make these Swedish-influenced errors are among the poorest pupils. Above all, complete language shifts nearly always occur in essays that are failed or close to failure. The general standard of these scripts can frequently be seen in the number of elementary grammatical errors made in the same sentence as the Swedish-induced lexical errors. However, the Swedish-based lexical errors based on formal similarity which are made by Swedish speakers neither follow exactly the same pattern, nor are they made only by very poor students. In earlier studies (Ringbom 1982, 1983), it was shown that although Finland-Swedish learners make a variety of Swedish-based lexical errors in their English matriculation examination essays, these errors do not have the same distribution as those made by the Finns. Errors due to Swedish include the consistently L1-based categories of transfer of semantic properties and loan translations, and although complete language shifts occasionally occur they are relatively rare and may be found even in otherwise good scripts. The examples of this latter kind would typically be formally similar and semantically identical low-frequency words, like the following:

I am not an *eremit* (Sw. *eremit*='hermit')
A new house made of *marmor* (Sw. *marmor*='marble')

Even the distribution of the false friends in Swedish differs between the two language groups in that the errors made by Swedish speakers tend to belong to that end of the semantic continuum (3c) where contexts can be found in which the word used can occur as a translation equivalent *(way* for 'road', cf. Sw. *väg.)* The use of false friends where there is only a formal similarity, but a totally different meaning *(fabric–fabrik)* can be found in both language groups, but less often among Swedish speakers. A partial explanation might here be found in a possible difference in teaching between Finnish and Swedish schools in Finland: it is not altogether unlikely that teachers at Swedish schools have paid more attention to semantically totally different false friends than at Finnish schools, where emphasis on such cross-linguistic aspects of lexis may not have suggested itself quite as easily, especially not if the teacher himself does not have a highly automatized command of Swedish.

Lexical Errors due to Swedish Influence

1. Complete language shift

1. She was always kind and never *arg* (Sw. *arg*='angry').
2. Some people have been killed in an *attentat* (Sw. *attentat*='attack', 'assassination').
3. A teacher should have *auktoritet* and keep good *kontakt* with the pupils (Sw. *auktoritet*='authority'; Sw. *kontakt*='contact').
4. We have a house which consists of five rooms and a *bastu* (Sw. *bastu*='sauna').
5. Now I know what kind of mena can use to make a *biff* (Sw. *biff*='steak').
6. Does that give a wrong *bild* of the world (Sw. *bild*='picture') Cf. 2a:2.

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7. But the mustn't let it disturb teaching by sitting and feeling sad behind his *bord* (Sw. *bord*='table', 'desk') Cf. 3b:3.
8. Now I live home with my parents. But sometimes I must go *bort*. (Sw. *bort*='away').
9. On the other hand is *bra* that we study English (Sw. *bra*='good').
   It would be *bra* if they (the members of any sport club) contest.
10. I can't leave it (my job) because of *brist* of money. (Sw. *brist*='lack', 'shortage') Cf. 2b:16.
11. One subject of the *debatt* has been the number of the languages (Sw. *debatt*='debate').
12. It (music) is one *del* of my own life (Sw. *del*='part') Cf. 3c:2a.
13. There is a marvelous *doft* in forest. (Sw. *doft*='smell', 'scent').
14. I often go to sauna or *dusch* (Sw. *dusch*='shower').
15. It's (the system's) *effektivitet* isn't enough. (Sw. *effektivitet*='efficiency').
16. A little child will rather listen more *fantasifull* stories (Sw. *fantasifull*='imaginative') Cf. 2b:12; 3c:4.
17. Pertti Nikula was third *fast* he promised to be first. (Sw. *fast*='although').
    Fast his age he take good gare of us.
    Most fathers don't stay at home *fast* mother would like to go to the work.
    (The travel agency) was overworked whole summer *fast* there are three another worker with me.
    Some pupils can wonder why they have punished, *fast* other do in same way.
    You must know what happens in the world *fast* you are not interested in it.
    For other people is it often imbossible, *fast* they see them very often.
    The best years of my life is childhood, *fast* I am a 20-years old I am a child still.
    Fast I'm 19-years a old my parent's care of me.
18. The wife had said that the man had done all *fel* (Sw. *fel*='wrong').
19. There are such pupils as are too *fet*. (Sw. *fet*='fat').
    I'm very *fet*, so the last summer I walked a lot.
    If that food is too *fet*.
20. I *fick* a job last week (Sw. *fick*='got').
21. There are *frisk* air and clean nature in forests (Sw. *frisk*='fresh').
22. We may prevent other people *frdn* learning (Sw. *frdn*='from').
23. We don't have any war looking *i globalt perspektiv* (Sw. *i globalt perspektiv*='in a global perspective') Cf. 2a:4.
24. In school we read the words and the *grammatik*. (Sw. *grammatik*='grammar').
25. It give us sufficient *grund*. (Sw. *grund*='foundation') Cf. 3b:4; 2b:10.
26. If I found *guld* would I not sell it (Sw. *guld*='gold').
27. *Hej* Jorma (introducing letter) (Sw. *hej*='hullo', used in informal letters as opening).
28. After *hundra* years (Sw. *hundra*='hundred').
29. *I* day the health service cost nothing (Sw. *i dag*='today').
30. The sun is shining and it is raining *ibland* (Sw. *ibland*='sometimes').
31. The number of horses is coming *igen* bigger (Sw. *igen*='again').
32. *Ingenting* was able to do (Sw. *ingenting*='nothing').

33. It is an *intressant* thing (Sw. *intressant*='interesting').
    In this way studing foreign languages would be *intressant*.
34. You don't *irritera* those kind of people... But if weather is good you can *irritera* them. (Sw. *irritera*='irritate').
35. She had said that they are *ju* just alike (Sw. *ju*='to be sure', 'as you know').
36. The school is very *kort* (Sw. *kort*='short').
37. I and my friend enjoyed playing *kort* (Sw. *kort*='cards').
38. Nothing *kunde* to be done (Sw. *kunde*='could').
39. Though he yells like a *lejon* (Sw. *lejon*='lion').
    They had to fight against the *lejon*.
40. Johanna is *liten* bigger than Jenni (Sw. *liten*='little').
41. It was importent thing in my fathers *liv* (Sw. *liv*='life').
42. Between workers must be good *luft*, that anybody feels happy. (Sw. *luft*='air').
43. My opinion is that *man* should teach foreign languages at school (Sw. indef. pron. *man*='one', 'you').
    Then *man* can lie on the beach and relax.
    If *man* study many languages *man* has possibility to understand other people in foreign lands and *man* may have some nice friendships.
    Man believed that she can get lots of votes.
    Man say, that our moods change with the weather.
    It is a big facktory where *man* repair all short of ships.
    It would be difficult to keep a club, where are 80 many members that *man* don't know their names.
    The more *man* play the more *man* learn.
    Without job *man* would become tired and bored.
    I'm now grown-up (so it says here Finland when *man* is eighteen years old).
    Fortunately *man* can easily forget.
    Reading them (stories) *man* need not also remember all those dates.
    If *man* thinks only some kind places where I have affort.
    When *man* are young could *man* do almost everything what *man* have always wanted to do.
44. Nobody cannot know what happen in the future *men* everybody can do predictions (Sw. *men*='but').
    Men at the moment I have flu.
    The Finnish summer is not long, *men* it's a general warm.
    Men all men will not be home.
    There are many kind of people as a teacher, *men* what kind of person is the ideal teacher?
    She has had difficulty in finding good stories, *men* I believe that...
45. These who don't succed in languages have to get better learning in *mindre* groups. (Sw. *mindre*='smaller').
46. We have to study at *minst* two languages (Sw. *minst*='least').
    The *minst*-known.
47. *Naturen* is beautiful (Sw. *natur+def. art*='(the) nature').

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48. Teachers must have a good *nervositet* (Sw. *nervositet*='nervousness').
49. This can *nog* be true (Sw. *nog*='certainly').
50. Can't you *ndgot* (Sw. *ndgot*='anything').
51. Only one language should be *obligatorisk* (Sw. *obligatorisk*='obligatory', 'compulsory') Cf. 2b:11.
    (English and Swedish) are *obligatorisk* subjects.
52. When we think the past *och* future years (Sw. *och*='and').
    People know a lot of international problems *och* national problems.
    Smoker will not quit if he *och* she not want it.
    We can nearly forget restlessness *och* violence.
    Every person has bad *och* good sides.
    It need not any leadership *och* director.
    An engineer drew a preliminary sketch *och* I drew it.
53. There are two *officiell* language: finnisch and swedish (Sw. *officiell(t)*='official').
    Even it is an other *officiell* language here in Finland.
54. Identical twin want *ofta* go to the same school. (Sw. *ofta*='often').
55. *Om* activities would be based on health life-ways. (Sw. *om*='if').
56. About 180 *ord* (Sw. *ord*='words').
57. My life is in *ordning* (Sw. *ordning*='order').
    I looked around that everything was in *ordning*.
    The teacher has a good *ordning* in the classroom.
58. Who plays *orgel*? (Sw. *orgel*='organ').
59. *Otroligt* there are some athletes too, which were not so good (Sw. *otroligt*='incredibly').
60. I'm usually very *pigg* after the diet (Sw. *pigg*='refreshed').
    Long enough sleep and the moments for relaxation between the working hours help me feel *pigg*. Cf. 2a:9; 2b:13.
61. Many *psykisk* problem (Sw. *psykisk*='mental').
62. Do you think *redan*, what kind of work you would like? (Sw. *redan*='already') Cf. 2b:17.
63. Those lovely cookies, which *resept* I got from you. (Sw. *recept*='recipy').
64. Then I went to the *restaurangen* (Sw. *restaurangen*='the restaurant').
65. This is *resultat* for long and high education (Sw. *resultat*='result').
66. Language play very important *roll* in our life (Sw. *roll*='part', 'role').
67. I need much hot *saft* (Sw. *saft*='juice', 'fruit-syrup').
68. It hasn't been healthy for one's body and *sinne* to watch so much TV (Sw. *sinne*='mind').
69. The *situationen* is getting worse (Sw. *situationen*='the situation').
70. If we did not know about things and happenings around us, our picture of world would not be *skarp* (Sw. *skarp*='sharp').
71. They must work in the field, in the *skog* (Sw. *skog*='forest').
72. A pair of *skor* (Sw. *skor*='shoes') Cf. 2a:12.
73. I eat many *slags* of food (Sw. *slags*='kinds').
74. I use artificial *socker* with my drinks (Sw. *socker*='sugar').
75. Many good sources, like *solenergi*, remain untapped (Sw. *solenergi*='solar energy').
76. What *speciellt* have you done? (Sw. *speciellt*='especially').
    I'm fishing when ever I can *speciell* in summer.

77. I have lived all my life in Jyväskylä. This is a very beautiful *stad*. (Sw. *stad*='town').
78. *Stor* enough (Sw. *stor*='big').
79. You can only see small clouds in the *stratosfär* (Sw. *stratosfär*='stratosphere').
80. If I have a twin *syster* I and my identical *syster* live same life. (Sw. *syster*='sister').
81. All those *terrorister* in Italy (Sw. *terrorister*='terrorists').
82. You can study many subject one and same *tid* (Sw. *tid*='time').
83. I and my friends played many different games *till exempel* football (Sw. *till exempel*='for example').
    If pupils are allowed to say what they *till exempel* want.
    Till exempel who has lots of hospitals.
84. We have dressed in the same way *tills* we were thirteen years old (Sw. *tills*='until').
85. Summerclothers don't fit me, because I have become too *tjock* (Sw. *tjock*='fat').
86. Keep *trevlig* and funny wedding-party (Sw. *trevlig*='nice', 'good', 'happy').
87. I *tro* that I would not leave without music (Sw. *tro*='think'). We must *tro* so. Cf. 3a:24.
88. They don't speak at the same languages, for example English or *Tysk* (Sw. *tysk(a)*='German').
89. *Usch*, it was awful (Sw. *usch*='oh', 'ugh').
90. Winter is gold and long... every place is *vit* (Sw. *vit*='white').
91. I think that foreign languages are the most important *ämne* which are taught in our schools (Sw. *ämne*='subject') Cf. 2b:3.
92. *Äpple* of own (Sw. *äpple*='apple').
    own *äpple* Cf. 2a:18.
93. I am *även* student by profession (Sw. *även*='also').

2. Hybrids, blends and relexifications

2a. Hybrids and blends

1. Men smoke more, perhaps two *asks* a day (Sw. *cigarettask*='cigarrette packet').
2. One purpose of stories is getting child interested in about books and *bilds* and stories. (Sw. *bild*='picture') Cf. 1:6.
3. The dark sky is covered with *blixts* (Sw. *blixt*='lightning').
4. If we look the subject *globalt*, the radio will be better than TV. (Sw. *globalt*='globally') Cf. 1:23.
5. We have the same *clothers* (Sw. *kläder*='clothes').
    I get all *clothers*.
    Summerclothers don't fit me.
6. The Olympic have surely been the *fests* of sport (Sw. *fest*='festivity', 'celebration').
7. She *fylls* 50 year (Sw. *fylla* 50='have one's fiftieth birthday') Cf. 2b:7; 3c:5.
8. If I found gold, I would be *luckly* (Sw. *lycklig*='happy').
9. I've noticed that I was much *pigger* after the walking out. (Sw. *pigg*='refreshed') Cf. 1:60; 2b:13.

10. We get lot of facts advertisement *reklams* news and other nonnense every day. (Sw. *reklam*='advertisement').
11. He had written all kind of litterature: novels, *romans*... (Sw. *roman*='novel'; *novell*='short story').
12. Pair of *skoes* (Sw. *sko*='shoe') Cf. 1:72.
13. It would be exciting to compare our *studentexamens* (Sw. *studentexamen*='matriculation examination').
14. I noticed how I *swallded* every time when my brother put his spoon into his mouth. (Sw. *svalde*='swallowed').
15. There are many technical machines for to help *teachningen* (Sw. *undervisningen*='the teaching').
16. The industrial revolution has done horses *unpraktisk*. (Sw. *praktisk*='practical').
17. His idea of nun nuclear *vapens*' Scandinavia (Sw. *vapen*='weapon'; no apostrophe used in Sw. genitive.)
18. Yours own *ápples* (Sw. *apple*='apple').
    Ápples of your own.
    My *ápples* Cf. 1:92.

2b. Relexifications

1. There are also programs of shildren and of *actuell* things (Sw. *aktuell*='current', 'topical') Cf. 3b:1.
   We are offer many possibilities to follow an *actuell* news.
2. I couldn't speak about *allthing* with them (Sw. *allting*='everything').
   Allthing is very expensive.
3. He is good at mathematics but he succes in the other *amnys*, too. (Sw. *ämne*='subject') Cf. 1:91.
4. He should enjoy his *childdoom* so far it is possible. (Sw. *barndom*='childhood').
5. We lived so far away from the centre of the *commun* (Sw. *kommun*='municipality').
   I was born in Vehmersalmi which is a small *commun*.
6. If you really don't need something you had better throw it away. You must do that because in some day you will *drunk* into it. (Sw. *drunkna*='drown').
7. You *fill up* eighteen year (Sw. *fylla år*='have one's birthday') Cf. 2a:7; 3c:5.
8. A teacher is a *forebild* for pupils (Sw. *förebild*='model', 'good example').
9. We can see how the ground *glaiming* like ice (Sw. *glimma*='shine', 'glitter').
10. Thus the U.N. was *grunded* (Sw. *grunda*='found') Cf. 1:25, 3b:4.
    Many alternative movement were *grunded* by people.
11. English is so important language that it is *obligatoris* for everybody (Sw. *obligatorisk*='compulsory', 'obligatory') Cf. 1:51.
12. It is too *phantasifull* to think that... (Sw. *fantasifull*='imaginative') Cf. 1:16; 3c:4.

13. In the morning I was tired and in the evening I was *piggy* (Sw. *pigg*='refreshed') Cf. 1:60; 2a:9.
14. You can *plock* of berries in Lapland (Sw. *plocka*='pick').
15. Naturally she will work as a *praktikant* (Sw. *praktikant*='trainee').
16. Here in Lahti are *prist* of dinner clubs (Sw. *brist*='lack', 'shortage') Cf. 1:10.
17. I have *readan* thought (Sw. *redan*='already') Cf. 1:62.
18. Shall we *rest* to the beach of Florida (Sw. *resa*='travel').
19. When he came back from the war he was hurt. His leg was full of *"scotts"* of the gun. (Sw. *skott*='shot').
20. He is well-known as a *scriftsteller* (Sw. *skriftställare*='author').
21. Now I must *slut*, but I hope that you write soon (Sw. *sluta*='finish').
22. Younger children get easily frightened when mother tells them about *spokes* (Sw. *spöke*='ghost').
    It's no use of telling *"spoke stories"* to children.
23. Tobacco industry have begun to *spride* information (Sw. *sprida*='spread').
24. People develop horses to be better *springers* (Sw. *springa*='run', *springare*='steed') Cf. 3b:10.
25. (works) such as bathing the baby or *steading* (Sw. *städa*='clean') Cf. 3a:18.
26. (prices) have *stegt* (Sw. *stiga–stigit='rise–risen'*).
27. Strict laws should be *stiffed* against criminality (Sw. *stifta*='institute').
28. The cloud will heat the earth by sending *strawls* back to earth (Sw. *stråle*='ray').
29. Take care that you don't *tapp* the glasses (Sw. *tappa*='drop').
30. Tourists bring foreign *valut* to Finland (Sw. *valuta*='currency').
31. This is very *victic* (Sw. *viktig*='important').
32. It has come more and more popular to hike in Finland's *wildmarks* (Sw. *vildmark*= 'wilds', 'wilderness').
33. In heating system one must not use oil. It could be *yeard* heat, sunheat or by wood (Sw. *jord*='earth').
34. When the young girl smokes she thinks she seems to *älder* than the non-smokers (Sw. *vara äldre*='be older').

3. False friends

3a. Only formal similarity between existing English and Swedish words, no semantic similarity

1. Among countless *arts* of horses (Sw. *art*='kind', 'type').
   Man has tamed many wild animals. One of those numerous *arts* is horse.
2. As a *barn* I was told stories every evening (Sw. *barn*='child').
3. In the attic I first found just *dam* (Sw. *damm*='dust').
   In the attics of old houses can be many old and available things which are under *damm*.

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4. There were many changes when *fabrics* began spread all over the world (Sw. *fabrik*='factory').
   As opposites to the hard works in *fabrics* is hunting.
   The fresh nature is destroyed by the poisons of *fabrics*.
   At the time he works in a *fabric*.
   Send them back to *fabrics*.
   He owns *fabrics*, houses etc.
   You can perhaps know what kind of *fabrik* it is.
   Work at school gives you more than work in some *fabrik*.
   The Sausage *Fabrik* is my summer job place.
   I am a test driver in a Yamaha motorbike*fabrik*.
   They have a little shoes*fabrik* which produces Tiger runnershoes.
   My main job was in *fabrik*building.
5. He drives in huge *faith* (Sw. *fart*='speed').
6. The fruits from southern countries can contain also more *gifts* than fruits from Finland (Sw. *gift*='poison').
   We ought to stop to sue the deodorants and the *gifts*.
   She felt deeply sorry for the witch when she handed a *gifted* apple to Snowwhite.
7. We can travel to Europe next *host* (Sw. *höst*='autumn').
8. I'm now a bad *influence*, high fever and headache. (Sw. *influensa*='flue').
9. I don't like that Finland develops tourist industry and *lockes* more and more tourists here (Sw. *locka*='attract', 'tempt').
   The child is *locked* to bed by telling him some stories.
10. This couldn't be the right way to *lose* the problem. (Sw. *lösa*='solve').
    This couldn't *lose* the problem.
    If we can't *lose* the problem.
    You must try to share and *lose* their problems, if there is some.
11. She speaks about all between *mark* and heaven. (Sw. *mark*='earth').
12. This affects the health of people. I am one *offer* of this. (Sw. *offer*='victim').
    The unsure youth is made the *offer* of fashion.
    The *offers* (of military operations) were civilians.
    Many people die every day only because they are *offers* of the violence.
    Many *offers* of violence have not enough courage to speak about it.
13a. I have read much about diet and I have to *prove* it sometimes (Sw. *prova*='try', 'test').
    May be some people want to *prove* different kind of life.
    I had just got my drivingcard and I was very eager to *prove* it.
    It's necessary to *prove* all new.
    Your health isn't good if you *prove* diet which is too hard.
    I have also *proved* few times smoking.
    It is worth *proving* that foreign languages would arrange every third lesson English, Swedish and Dutch will do to learn in school.
    I have never *proved* those diet methods, I'm thin enough.

13b. In this autumn I'll try my last time. Hopelessly I'll pass the *prove* (Sw. *prov*='test', 'examination').
The boys often became bad numbers in the *proves*.
14. Her attic was full of clothes: pullovers, *rocks* etc. (Sw. *rock*='jacket', 'coat').
15. Sometimes I had to *sheet* some plants in the garden (Sw. *skôta*='tend', 'take care of').
16. The principle "*slit* and throw away" (Sw. *slita*='wear').
17. The *snowdeck* can become one and a half meters deep (Sw. *snötäcke*='snow covering').
18. Later I had to clean and *steady* (Sw. *städa*='clean') Cf. 2b:25.
19. If they have bad qualities it *sticks* sometimes on eye (Sw. *sticka i ögonen*='strikes the eye').
20. We should build nice small *stock* cottages (Sw. *stock*='log').
Men in Finland have taken *stocks* from forests.
21. If someone wants to join the club it wouldn't be easy. Rules are *strength* (Sw. *sträng* (a.)='strict', 'severe').
22. A teacher shouldn't be too *string* (Sw. sträng (a.)='strict', 'severe', *sträng* (n.)='string').
23. In horse-races can people also *tip* and win thousands of marks (Sw. *tippa*='do the pools').
24. I *true* that you don't know me nothing (Sw. *tro*='think').
I *true* that most of the teachers are good.
I can hardly *true* that you who had always said that I am not going to married have now decided to go.
I *true* that handwork will be my profession.
It is not easy but I *true* that I can do it. Cf. 1:87.

3b. Formal and semantic similarity between English and Swedish words

1. The whole thing became *actual* in the end of the year 1981. (Sw. *aktuell*='current', 'topical') Cf. 2b:1.
Recently have the question, what kind of army should our country have, become really *actuall*.
He had eighty years birthday in this month so he is very *actual* person.
The modern way of life need a new stories that are more *actual*.
Many people are interest in all kind of *actual* things.
2. Everything began when my mother saw that *annonce* in the newspaper (Sw. *annons*='advertisement').
I got the job by answering a newspaper *announcement*.
3. In this hall the youngest pupils have their *boards*, in which they keep their schoolbooks. (Sw. *bord*='desk', 'table') Cf. 1:7.
4. Martin Luther who *grounded* the church (Sw. *grunda*='found').
The United Nations was *grounded* after the Second World War.
When the UN was *grounded*.
The next day we *grounded* a new club. Cf. 1:25, 2b:10.

5a. Fairy stories *handle* these things which children love (Sw. *handla om, behandla* ='treat', 'deal with').
Many times news *handle* hunger, war, poverty and sport.
Language books ought to *handle* interesting topics.
Only information that *handles* something sensational.
Every new year he makes a speech *handling* the problem of our society.

5b. He would learn how to *handle* in the right way. (Sw. *handla* ='act').
They simply cannot sit down a moment and think over what really has happened and after that *handling*.

5c. Our *handle* with foreign countries is impossible if we cannot speak speak any languages (Sw. *handel* ='trade').

6. I should prefer less greasy *meat* like fish and chicken. (Sw. *mat* ='food').

7. There are no common rules which *passed* in every situation (Sw. *passa* ='suit').
I planned to come next Sunday if it *passes* to you.
The job was really interesting and *passing* for me.

8. The unemployment and inflation are much discussed *sakes* (Sw. *sak* ='thing').

9. He *spares* money in case something would appear (Sw. *spara* ='save').
We could of course try to *spare* and simply pay more taxes.
He has created a system, which *spares* his time and work.
If we read advertisements and then bought clothes cheaply we would *spare* money.
Au pairs' salaries are small but they can still *spare*.
I will begin to *spare* money.
The little money we get we shall *spare*.
I *spared* money and at one day I bought my first guitar.
I can't have *spared* so much money that I had planned.

10. In summer I *spring* and swim as much as I can (Sw. *springa* ='run') Cf. 2b:24.
The horses are trained to *spring* very fast.
Horses must *spring* so fast as possible.
You must go to *spring* and play something.
I went every morning to *spring*.
It was an experience to see how she *sprang* after the ball.
After having done our homework we *sprang* to that nice cottage.

3c. Formal similarity, partial semantic identity

1. We buy almost everything from shops and *affairs* (Sw. *affär* =(usu.) 'shop', 'business', sometimes also 'affair').

2a. I must sit the most *deal* of day (Sw. *del* =(usu.) 'part', occasionally also 'deal') Cf. 1:12.
The school takes a big *deal* of the life.
A very big *deal* about world's people speaks English.
These languages are spoken in the greatest *deal* of the world.

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The greatest *deal* of an population.
One could sell a *deal* of them with high price.
Stories are important *deal* of their life.
All kinds of news are a *deal* of our life.
I think that (sport games) have got a too big *deal* of news.
Everyone have to make one's *deal* (of homeworks).

2b. If both man and woman works at home they can *deal* the jobs (Sw. *dela*='share', 'divide', *(dela ut)* 'deliver', occasionally also 'deal').
He must be able to *deal* his knowledge with pupils.
I drive a lorry and *deal* goods.
Finnish weather can *deal* in four seasons.
We could *deal* week so that men and women get three training days.
How could we *deal* the money between us?
People *deal* with pleasure some jobs to be men's jobs and other women's.
It must have been *dealed* in for different deparment.

3. Only 5 per cent of rapers are *doomed* (Sw. *döma*='sentence', 'judge', sometimes also 'doom').
4. We have to use our *fantasy* when we read. (Sw. *fantasi*=(usu.) 'imagination', sometimes 'fantasy') Cf. 1:16; 2b:12.
5. After *filling* 80 years he is still in form (Sw. *fylla år*='have one's birthday' *fylla* otherwise=(usu.) 'fill') Cf. 2a:7; 2b:7.
6. There find people, who play other instruments (Sw. *det finns*=(usu.) 'there are', 'there is', *finna*=(usu.) 'find').
In the world *find* it so much poer.
It *finds* in the world so few people who...
7. The *hound* is the best friend of man (Sw. *hund*='dog', occasionally also 'hound').
8. This is my future dream. My house is in *land*. Around the house are trees. (Sw. *land*='country', 'countryside', sometimes also 'land').
9. The *landscape* is very beautiful (Sw. *landskap*=(usu.) 'scenery', sometimes also 'landscape').
10. What would children think if they *marked* that the teacher doesn't know what he is speaking. (Sw. *märka*='notice', sometimes also 'mark').
11. The clothes in the attic are the *mode* of today (Sw. *mode*='fashion', occasionally also 'mode').
12. If would *offer* so large sums of money in cigarettes. (Sw. *offra (på)*='spend', 'devote', 'sacrifice', occasionally also 'offer').
13. The nucleararm competition between two big country has got terrible *scales* (Sw. *skala*=(usu.) 'scale', occasionally='proportion').
14. Finland is called the land of thousand *sees*. (Sw. *sjö*=(usu.) 'lake', sometimes 'sea').
15. This is compulsory for every *tobaccomarks* which are sold in Finland. (Sw. *tobaksmärke*='tobacco brand', *märke*=(usu.) 'mark').
16. When countries export goods, they get foreign currency and are able to import *wares* and raw material (Sw. *varor*=(usu.) 'goods', sometimes 'wares').

17. Engineerings plan more and more new *ways* (Sw. *väg*=(usu.) 'road', sometimes also 'way').
    There are lot of snow on *ways* and streets.
    The *way* to Sweden was open.
    In *ways* and fields.
18. I could work what I *will* (Sw. *vilja*=(usu.) 'want to', occasionally 'will').
    Men don't *will* do nothing.

Lexical errors due to German influence

1. We, *also* I and my boyfriend movied to Pieksamaki.
2. This claims *arbeitscraft*, which we have enough.
3. Your address I *became* from our grandfather.
4. Music has *becomen* more and important to me.
5. According to your fathers latest *brief* to Finland.
6. Then *geese* scrambled eggs on the hot steiking pan (G. *giessen*='pour').
7. I hope that you understand why I haven't repaid *jetzt* they money, which you lend to me.
8. *Junger* it was terrible to go there.
9. I lent every *monat* a little sum.
10. It must be fantastic to ride in *wald*.

Lexical errors due to Finnish influence
(language shifts and false friends)

1. I have two sons, Matti *ja* Heikki (Fi. *ja*='and').
   He loves *ja* cares of his church.
   I have two sisters, name of which are Terttu *ja* Kaisa.
2. Our *perils* will see what we have had and will understand us better. (Fi. *perillinen*='descendant').
3. When using language in practice think that grammar mistakes neither *uskalla* to use languages. (Fi. *uskalla*='dare').

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